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NOTE

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2536th MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 9 May 1984, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Oleg A. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2536)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in Cyprus:
   Letter dated 30 April 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16514)

The meeting was called to order at 11.35 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Cyprus:
Letter dated 30 April 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16514)

1. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings on this item [*2531st to 2535th meetings*], I invite the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey to take places at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Antigua and Barbuda, Australia, Cuba, Ecuador, Guyana, Jamaica, Mongolia, Sri Lanka, the Syrian Arab Republic, Yugoslavia and Viet Nam to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Moushoutas (Cyprus), Mr. Dountas (Greece) and Mr. Kirca (Turkey) took places at the Council table; Mr. Zarif (Afghanistan), Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. Jacobs (Antigua and Barbuda), Mr. Woolcott (Australia), Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba), Mr. Albornoz (Ecuador), Mr. Karran (Guyana), Mr. Carr (Jamaica), Mr. Erdenechuluun (Mongolia), Mr. Wijewardane (Sri Lanka), Mr. Al-Atassi (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) and Mr. Le Kim Chung (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bangladesh, Bulgaria, Costa Rica, Hungary, Panama and Saint Lucia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Wasiuddin (Bangladesh), Mr. Tsvetkov (Bulgaria), Mr. Zumbado Jiménez (Costa Rica), Mr. Rácz (Hungary), Mrs. Noriega (Panama) and Mr. St. Aimee (Saint Lucia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda. The first speaker is the representative of Mongolia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

4. Mr. ERDENECHULUUN (Mongolia) [*interpretation from Russian*]: Permit me first of all to express our profound satisfaction at seeing you, Mr. President, guiding the work of the Security Council in May and to wish you every success in the discharge of that important function. We wish to express our sincere gratitude to your predecessor, the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Mr. Vladimir Kravets, for his skilful and extremely tactful guidance of the Council's work last month.

5. We are grateful to all members of the Council for affording us this opportunity to take part in the discussion of the item which is now under consideration.

6. Rather more than five months has elapsed since the Security Council adopted resolution 541 (1983), of 18 November 1983, in connection with the declaration by the leadership of the Turkish community in Cyprus of the creation of the so-called independent State in the northern part of the island. The Council in most unambiguous terms declared that unilateral action to be legally invalid and called for its withdrawal.

7. At that time the Mongolian People's Republic, in a statement by the representative of the Foreign Ministry dated 18 November 1983 [*S/16172, annex*], expressed profound concern at that separatist action which ran counter to the fundamental interests of the people of Cyprus and United Nations decisions and created a serious threat to peace and security in the region.

8. The attention of the Security Council has now been drawn to new actions leading to a further exacerbation of the situation in Cyprus. In direct violation of resolution 541 (1983), the leadership of the Turkish community has taken a number of steps designed to legitimize the dismemberment of Cyprus. The intention has been declared to hold a constitutional referendum and elections in August and November 1984 respectively. On 17 April there was a ceremonial presentation of "credentials", purportedly establishing diplomatic relations between Turkey and the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

9. In our view, these and other actions not only pose a threat to the efforts of the Secretary-General but fundamentally undermine the basis for a political settlement of the Cyprus problem. Therefore, the Mongolian delegation finds entirely well-founded the request of Cyprus for an urgent convening of the Security Council to consider the situation and to take prompt and effective measures to implement United Nations resolutions.

10. The gravity of the situation that has arisen in and around that country as a result of these separatist actions has been clearly and cogently demonstrated in the statement in the Security Council on 3 May [*2531st meeting*] by the head of the Cypriot State, President Spyros Kyprianou. His statement contained an urgent appeal for the taking of immediate measures to reverse the process which is liable to threaten the territorial integrity and, what is more important, the very existence of an independent State Member of the United Nations.

11. The Mongolian delegation has studied attentively the latest report of the Secretary-General [*S/16519*], which describes in detail the events of the past few months and his efforts within the framework of his good-offices mission. As the Secretary-General himself states, "The developments outlined in this report speak for themselves." [*Ibid., para. 23.*]

12. With regard to the situation in Cyprus, we believe it necessary to draw attention once again to the overt and covert attempts on the part of certain circles to turn the island into a military strategic spring-board of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in the area of the eastern Mediterranean. The machinations of these circles are leading to an exacerbation of tension in that part of the world and are aimed at the maintenance of the *de facto* partition of the country.

13. The Mongolian People's Republic has always consistently supported, and continues to support, the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and its policy of non-alignment. We believe that the internal affairs of Cyprus can and must be resolved, taking due account of the interests of both communities. To this end, there must, as we see it, be a cessation of military or any other kind of intervention from outside, a withdrawal of all foreign troops and the elimination of military bases on the territory of Cyprus.

14. We agree with the Secretary-General's view that "One important requirement [will] be the maintenance of a continued process of communication and negotiation" [*ibid.*]. In this, of course, an irreplaceable role must be played by the good offices of the Secretary-General, a function which the Mongolian People's Republic supports and appreciates very highly.

15. In conclusion, I should like to express the hope that the Security Council will take decisions aimed at bringing about a political settlement of the Cyprus problem on the basis of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

16. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Costa Rica. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

17. Mr. ZUMBADO JIMÉNEZ (Costa Rica) [*interpretation from Spanish*]: Sir, I should like to express my delegation's sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. Your intellectual gifts, skill and diplomatic experience are a guarantee in the Council's deliberations. I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor and to the other officers of the Council.

18. How often in this forum have we seen a confrontation between universally shared principles and the arbitrary use of force by some? How often have we met in an effort to halt aggression, to ensure respect for human rights or to speak out against violence? How often has there been a temptation to use weapons to solve complex problems, leading to short-lived victories that generate permanent conflicts? How often have we seen that obfuscation which scorns dialogue, promotes injustice and prolongs crisis? How often have the lessons of history been ignored and people been dazzled by fleeting victories won by the use of bayonets?

19. Whenever and wherever necessary, more and more of us must raise our voices against the use of force to solve conflicts and demand respect for civilization.

20. My Government is convinced that the victory for peace we seek in the context of Cyprus will be found only in a united and freedom-loving Cyprus, one which denounces any attempt to legitimize rights created by a foreign force. How ironic that on the native soil of Aphrodite solutions should be sought by violence.

21. In addition to protesting the act of defiance of Security Council resolutions 365 (1974), 367 (1975) and 541 (1983) which has brought us here today, Costa Ricans unconditionally support President Kyprianou's proposal for complete demilitarization of Cyprus.

22. Costa Rica did away with its armed forces in 1949, and since that time we have learned that dialogue and peaceful compromise lead to genuine solutions, no matter how serious the conflicts. Our freedoms have flourished and our economic progress has been enhanced. When on occasion we have been faced with dramatic external threats, we have been able to appreciate the tremendous strength of a people defending itself with principles. No one understands better than we the value of a proposal for complete demilitarization and the prospects for freedom and growth this path offers. We in Costa Rica could never remain impassive to so cherished and civilized a proposal.

23. It is when the complete renunciation of force gives way to thought and action that the boundless capacity for understanding between men and peoples is comprehended. The most fanatic religious and political struggles must be calmed in order to find ways towards understanding. The greatest economic and cultural differences must find paths towards equality.

24. If the impatience of weapons prevails over dialogue every time a serious problem arises, we shall eventually blow the world to smithereens. The nuclear threat is not just a matter of warheads; unfortunately, it also has to do with those who have no faith in dialogue, politics and civilization. What is civilization if not the possibility of our resolving differences without destroying ourselves? In this sense we hope that the good offices of the Secretary-General will be welcomed in a way befitting the present situation.

25. When I think of the serious problems affecting Central America, I think also with fear that if similar methods to those being used in Cyprus were used there, the magnitude of the problems and suffering could become indescribable.

26. Therefore we reaffirm our solidarity with Cyprus, in the knowledge that we are reaffirming a commitment to peace, as well as our trust in civilization and our faith in mankind.

27. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) [*interpretation from Russian*]: Mr. President, permit me to congratulate you warmly on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. Your diplomatic experience and mastery and the great authority and profound respect which you so deservedly enjoy among the delegations to the United Nations undoubtedly will permit you to discharge your functions as President of the Security Council in an excellent fashion. We wish you every possible success. I should also like to thank you and all delegations that have offered kind words to the President of the Council for April.

28. The Ukrainian SSR, like the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations, has always unswervingly and consistently supported the position of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and its non-aligned status. On this basis we voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) of 1 November 1974 and of all subsequent decisions on the Cyprus question. It is with great regret, however, that we note that in spite of the vigorous appeals by the General Assembly contained in these documents for countries to refrain from any unilateral actions that might have an adverse effect on any just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem by peaceful means, and notwithstanding the relevant decisions of the Security Council, the situation in the island has continued to deteriorate, seriously threatening international peace and security in the Mediterranean.

29. Tension reached a particularly high point when, in defiance of Security Council decisions, the leadership of the Turkish community in Cyprus unilaterally declared the creation of a so-called independent State in the northern part of the island, which had already been under foreign occupation for 10 years. We categorically condemn this latest separatist act leading to the partition of Cyprus, something which strikes at the very foundations of the settlement of a problem advocated by the United Nations. The Ukrainian SSR expresses its support for the timely reaction of the Security Council contained in its resolution 541 (1983) of 18 November 1983. In that resolution the Council reaffirmed its previous resolutions on this question, declared the separatist action as legally invalid and called upon "all States and the two communities in Cyprus to refrain from any action which might exacerbate the situation".

30. In accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, decisions of the Security Council are binding on Members of the United Nations and must be complied with. However, this decision of the Council went unimplemented. Moreover, further steps have been taken which leave us in no doubt that what we are facing is open disregard of a decision of the Security Council, which bears major responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. This is demonstrated by recent facts set forth in the statement in the Security Council on 3 May by the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Kyprianou [*2531st meeting*], and in the report of the Secretary-General [*S/16519*].

31. The Ukrainian SSR views the "exchange of ambassadors" as a violation of Security Council resolution 541 (1983). We share the concern of many States at the new steps taken by the leaders of the Turkish community in the island aimed at the partition of Cyprus, in defiance of the clearly expressed will of the Security Council and the efforts of the Secretary-General within the framework of the good-offices mission entrusted to him. We are profoundly convinced that the separatist action of the Turkish Cypriot administration in the creation of the so-called independent State and measures

to give it legal form do not improve the situation of the Turkish community and can only complicate even further the possibility of bringing about a settlement acceptable to both sides.

32. Most recent events in Cyprus have once again made it amply clear that the intrigues and manoeuvres undertaken by external forces against the Republic of Cyprus for many years now are not slackening. The United States and its NATO allies are intent upon converting the island into a military spring-board for NATO in the eastern Mediterranean, viewing it as an important stronghold on the way to the Middle East.

33. The Ukrainian SSR favours a peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem, without any outside interference, by means of constructive negotiations on the basis of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Cypriot State and its non-aligned status. We are in favour of the withdrawal of all foreign troops and the elimination of military bases in Cyprus. We attach great significance to the continuation of the good-offices mission of the Secretary-General.

34. In our view, the Security Council must continue to strive to bring about compliance with its decisions on the Cyprus problem and create the foundations of a long-lasting settlement.

35. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Saint Lucia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

36. Mr. St. AIMEE (Saint Lucia): Mr. President, first, please accept the thanks of my delegation for allowing us to address the Council on the matter before it. May I also express my delegation's pleasure at your possession of the mantle of leadership of the Security Council for this month. In the same vein, may I express thanks and appreciation to the President of the Council for the month of April for the work that was done.

37. The question of Cyprus has intermittently engaged the concerns of the Security Council and the General Assembly for over two decades, and since 1964 the United Nations has played a very direct role in attempting to attenuate hostilities through its Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus. Yet the problem in Cyprus has remained insoluble as the chronicle of the past 20 years in Cyprus has brought us occasional hope and frequent despair.

38. At the very heart of the question of Cyprus has been an issue that is of fundamental concern to many States Members of the Organization—that of the security of small States. In the case of Cyprus matters of security have always been clear-cut. In other areas of the world threats to the security of small States are much more subtle. But the objective is always the same.

39. In reaction to the events of July 1974 in Cyprus, the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session adopted resolution 3212 (XXIX), in which it, *inter alia*, called upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus and to refrain from all acts and intervention directed against it. That resolution was later endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 365 (1974) of December 1974.

40. The *status quo* in Cyprus, which is, of course, the end result of a fratricidal conflict often fuelled from external sources, is a classic example of the unwillingness or inability of the international community in general to act decisively to assure the security of small States. It is a sad fact of life that after all the international admonitions have been delivered and the palliatives applied, the small State, if it is to remain a sovereign entity, must act in conjunction with trusted friends to assure its own security and that of its treaty-bound neighbours.

41. Saint Lucia fully supports the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned status of Cyprus. We believe that there is an urgent need to settle the question of Cyprus. However, we take the view that the solution to the problem in Cyprus lies with the people of Cyprus themselves; hence, they should be allowed to resolve it without any foreign interference whatsoever. Saint Lucia affirms the inalienable right of the Republic of Cyprus and its citizens to full and effective sovereignty and control over the entire territory of Cyprus, and we urge all States to recognize and respect that right.

42. Saint Lucia has no doubt that the people of Cyprus, through the medium of the intercommunal talks and continued dialogue and with the aid of the good offices of the Secretary-General, can find a mutually acceptable, just and lasting solution to their problem if they are allowed to negotiate it without undue foreign interference. Hence, we believe that the onus now lies on this Council to act decisively to ensure an environment which lends itself to the peaceful solution of the question of Cyprus.

43. The Organization is once again called upon to solve a problem involving the peace, security and territorial integrity of one of its Members. This time, the threat to peace and security has in fact been carried out in the manner of the partitioning of a State. While it may be seen as only a Cyprus problem, one cannot overlook the implications for the region if a solution is not found and the problem is not resolved peacefully. Threats to States and regions, especially those States and regions that are militarily weak, should never be taken lightly. In many ways the plight of small States remains in the hands of the Organization, through this Council. The situation in Cyprus provides an opportunity once again for the Council to act decisively. Failing that, no small State will feel secure, and the implications are very frightening. Security arrangements would then become

too necessary, as they have already in some regions, creating a further economic burden on the limited resources of these small States.

44. Only positive action by the Council can reverse the present trend. The resolution of the issue at present before the Council could go a long way towards restoring the confidence of small and militarily weak States in particular in the Organization as a whole, and in international relations in general, which is so necessary for the preservation of peace.

45. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Bulgaria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

46. Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) [*interpretation from French*]: I should like first to thank the members of the Security Council for giving me this opportunity to take part in the present discussions. I should also like to congratulate you, Sir, very warmly on your election to the presidency of the Council for the month of May. My satisfaction is all the greater because of the excellent relations of friendship and fraternity that bind our two countries. I am convinced that your vast experience, political wisdom and diplomatic skills, which are recognized by all, will enable the Council to carry out the complex, responsible tasks with which it is faced at present. I also pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Vladimir Kravets of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, for the exemplary manner in which he conducted the Council's work during a period marked by important events.

47. I take this opportunity to remind the Council that today's meeting is being held on 9 May, an important date which marks the historic victory over fascism of the anti-Hitler coalition, with a decisive role being played by the Soviet Union. This date has become a symbol of the aspirations of peoples to eliminate militarism, aggression and war from the life of humanity, aspirations which are the basis of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. This historic date reminds us never to forget the millions of victims and makes us increase our efforts to ensure that future generations are spared the horrors of war.

48. The Security Council was informed by the Government of the Republic of Cyprus of the latest political development in the island, following which the tension has worsened. The members of the Council have heard the statement by Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, President of Republic of Cyprus, in which he explained the situation created.

49. Situated in the same geographical region as Cyprus, the People's Republic of Bulgaria sincerely desires the creation and strengthening of a climate of peace, security, trust, mutual understanding, good-neighbourliness and co-operation between all the countries of the Balkan and eastern Mediterranean region. As has frequently been emphasized by the President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Mr. Todor Zhivkov, all this leads my country to do all it can to strengthen peace in our shared region.

50. The unilateral declaration of a "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" and the subsequent efforts to produce a constitution run counter to the interests of the Cypriot people as a whole and are fraught with danger for peace and security in the eastern Mediterranean region. The announcement of plans to hold a "referendum on a new constitution" and "general elections" represents a new step along the secessionist path in Cyprus. All these actions are contrary to Security Council resolutions, including resolution 541 (1983), which states that the declaration of a "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus", aiming at the secession of part of the Republic of Cyprus, is considered to be legally invalid.

51. These actions are in contravention of relevant General Assembly resolutions, in particular resolution 3212 (XXIX), which was endorsed by the Security Council. In other words, these actions run counter to the desire of the international community that the question of Cyprus be resolved through negotiations. The resulting situation cannot but arouse grave concern in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

52. My country's position has been set forth on a number of occasions in the United Nations. It is a position of principle and is unalterable. Despite their differing ethnic origins, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots are united by an historical destiny and by common traditions and interests. They must be allowed to resolve their internal problems and differences free from all foreign interference and to live in harmony in a united Cyprus. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is opposed to any efforts that might lead to secession from the island, as well as to its transformation into a foreign military base.

53. My country has always been in favour of efforts for a lasting, peaceful and just settlement of the problem of Cyprus that would guarantee the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, taking into account the rights of both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.

54. It is of paramount importance today that we prevent and refuse to tolerate any unilateral act which might lead to a deterioration in the situation and to subsequent exacerbation of the conflict. In this connection I recall the communiqué of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, adopted at their Budapest meeting on 20 April last, which states, *inter alia*:

> "the participants in the meeting expressed the firm conviction that there are no issues that could not be resolved through talks, if they are conducted on the basis of a constructive approach and political will to

attain positive results, with due regard for the vital interests of the peoples, the interests of peace and international security" [*see S/16504, annex*].

55. The initiative of the Secretary-General, aimed at bringing about a just and lasting settlement of this problem holds out genuine prospects of success, despite the difficulties encountered. As was stressed during the Secretary-General's recent visit to Sofia, my Government supports his efforts to bring about a constructive dialogue between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots.

56. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has a high regard for the policy of non-alignment pursued by the Republic of Cyprus. My country is thoroughly convinced that the difference between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots can and should be resolved through negotiations between them, on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions and free from all outside interference and pressure. Furthermore, we are fully convinced that a peaceful settlement of the problem of Cyprus in the interests both of the Greek Cypriots and of the Turkish Cypriots can be achieved only on the basis of guarantees of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus.

57. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Hungary. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

58. Mr. RÁCZ (Hungary): Mr. President, at the very outset I should like sincerely to thank you and, through you, the other members of the Security Council for inviting my delegation to participate in the current deliberations and for giving me the opportunity to express our views with regard to the item on the Council's agenda.

59. It is a great honour and privilege for me to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. It is a pleasure for me to see in the chair of this body a distinguished diplomat of the USSR, a country with which we have fraternal relations. I express my confidence that your well-known and widely recognized diplomatic skill and wisdom will contribute greatly to the success of the work of the Council. I wish also to express our sincere appreciation of the outstanding manner in which Mr. Kravets, representative of the Ukrainian SSR, conducted the business of the Council last month.

60. It is not without a sense of sorrow that my delegation joins in the present discussion. Less than a year has passed since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 37/253, and less than half a year since the Council had to meet at short notice to discuss the deteriorating situation on the island of Cyprus and to adopt resolution 541 (1983).

61. A comprehensive, overall solution to the problem of Cyprus is still not on the horizon, despite the efforts of the Organization, and especially those of the Secretary-General, in assisting the parties to achieve the earliest possible progress towards a just and lasting settlement. Unfortunately, the latest developments have only caused the situation to worsen, as convincingly set out in the statement made here by President Kyprianou of Cyprus.

62. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic attaches great significance to the quest for a peaceful, viable and lasting solution to the problem of Cyprus. Such a solution must be based on full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus, in accordance with the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. We consider also that foreign intervention should cease and that all foreign troops and military personnel and every other military presence should be withdrawn from the island, in order to facilitate the solution of the Cyprus problem. Proceeding from these general considerations, we wish to point out that attempts to divide the country and actions to strengthen the division between the two communities are contrary to the interests of the Cypriot people as well as to the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, specifically Security Council resolution 541 (1983), which called upon all States not to recognize any Cypriot State other than the Republic of Cyprus.

63. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic has always been against imposing a solution on the people of Cyprus, who have suffered for so long. The Cypriot people, whose continuing tragedy has been inflicted upon it by unlawful acts by outside forces, has our deep sympathy and solidarity. We continue to believe that the forum of the intercommunal talks provides the most appropriate framework within which the substantive issues can be tackled and resolved.

64. Accordingly, my delegation wishes to express its concurrence with the view expressed in the course of the present debate by many previous speakers that the solution of the question of Cyprus must be based on the resolutions of the United Nations, as well as on the Makarios-Denktaş guidelines of 12 February 1977 [*see S/12323, para. 5*] and the 10-point agreement of 19 May 1979 [*see S/13369, para. 51*] arrived at between the President of the Republic of Cyprus and the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community.

65. The situation in Cyprus is a problem of international magnitude, the continuation of which jeopardizes and threatens the peace and security not only of the eastern Mediterranean but also of Europe, and the crisis makes its effect felt also on the outlook for and prospect of international peace and security in general. As a matter of fact, forces alien to the region have made and still are making use of this situation, for their own selfish purposes, for manipulation and interference in the eastern Mediterranean.

66. The Hungarian delegation reaffirms its full support for the Republic of Cyprus and calls for scrupulous respect for its independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status. The strict and consistent implementation of United Nations resolutions is indispensable if we are to succeed in our mission. The idea of holding an international conference on Cyprus should also be borne in mind. In these endeavours the continuation of the good offices of the Secretary-General is indeed essential. We wish to express our deep appreciation to him for his tireless efforts and dedication to the search for a viable solution and for the assistance he has offered to the parties on repeated occasions to bring about a meaningful dialogue between them. The good offices of the Secretary-General have been and remain essential for the resolution of the Cyprus problem. We can only express our full support for him in his difficult and responsible mission.

67. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the representative of Bangladesh. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

68. Mr. WASIUDDIN (Bangladesh): Permit me at the outset, Mr. President, to thank you and the other members of the Council for giving my delegation this opportunity to participate in the Security Council debate on the situation in Cyprus. I also wish to congratulate you very warmly, on behalf of the Bangladesh delegation as well as on my own behalf, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the current month. We are confident that under your outstanding leadership and proved diplomatic skill the Council's deliberations will lead to fruitful and constructive results. May I also convey our deep appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Vladimir A. Kravets of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, for the excellent manner in which he guided the work of the Council during the month of April.

69. My delegation has followed with interest the current deliberations in the Council, which has been convened to consider the latest developments, namely, the recent exchange of ambassadors between Turkey and northern Cyprus and the decision of the Turkish leadership to hold a referendum on a constitution and elections later this year. The Council has before it in document S/16519 of 1 May 1984 the report of the Secretary-General. President Kyprianou of the Republic of Cyprus, in his opening statement [*2531st meeting*], and other representatives who have subsequently made statements, emphasized the need to maintain the unity and the territorial integrity of Cyprus. We listened to their statements with great attention. We paid equal attention to the statements made by Mr. Rauf Denktaş and the representative of Turkey, who apprised the Council of the genesis of the Cyprus problem and the circumstances which led to the latest developments.

70. The Security Council has been seized of the Cyprus question for the last two decades, and we are all painfully aware of the unfortunate events which led us to the present situation, in which Cyprus is virtually divided into two separate entities. My delegation therefore fully shares the perception that the recent developments in Cyprus should not be viewed in isolation from the unresolved overall question which developed soon after the country became independent and, more particularly, after the breakdown of its constitutional setup in 1963.

71. Bangladesh's position on the Cyprus question has been firm and unequivocal, and we have consistently supported the independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and non-aligned status of Cyprus. In light of the genesis of the present problem, Bangladesh, in the debate on the Cyprus question in the General Assembly and in the Security Council, as well as at summit-level meetings of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Commonwealth, has consistently advocated an early amicable settlement of the Cyprus question that would enable the Turkish and Greek communities in Cyprus to live in safety, dignity and honour. We are equally convinced that no solution of the problem can be lasting unless it takes into account the legitimate aspirations of both the communities in Cyprus.

72. Given the situation, it has been our confirmed belief that the only realistic course open to the Council in the search for a solution is the continued encouragement of intercommunal talks, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, based on the fundamental and legitimate rights of the two communities in accordance with the high-level agreements which they themselves reached in 1977 and 1979. These agreements, aimed at the establishment of an independent, bicommunal and non-aligned federal Republic of Cyprus with full territorial integrity, were welcomed by the overwhelming majority of the world community. It is a matter of deep regret that the intercommunal talks did not make much progress. Our profound concern was expressed by Mr. Aminur Rahman Shams-ud Doha, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, when, in his statement at the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly, he stated:

> "The lack of progress in the intercommunal talks between the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities has been a cause of concern to all of us. We urge both communities to engage in meaningful discussions for reaching a mutually acceptable solution of the problem that would enable them to live in honour and dignity within the framework of a federated Cyprus, where the rights of both communities will be fully protected. These talks have continued much longer than was expected, and unless there is some progress in the immediate future, the situation in Cyprus may take an irreversible turn."[1]

73. Our apprehensions proved correct when, out of a sense of sheer desperation and frustration provoked by the lack of any meaningful dialogue, the Turkish Cyp-

riot community and its leadership made a proclamation of independence last November. Should the international community ignore the fact that during the past 20 years the rights of the Turkish Cypriot community as co-founder of the State of Cyprus have been trampled upon? Was this not a violation of international law?

74. The Council met after the proclamation and adopted a one-sided resolution which did not take into account the historical and cultural aspects of the process of the political evolution of Cyprus. We were convinced that the adoption of such a resolution would neither serve the cause of conciliation nor strengthen the Secretary-General's mission of good offices. Quite expectedly, the Turkish Cypriot leadership categorically rejected the resolution.

75. The Commonwealth Heads of State, who met at New Delhi in November last year soon after the Council debate, also considered the Cyprus problem. Our President, Lieutenant General Ershad, who led the Bangladesh delegation at the meeting, emphasized that the intercommunal talks should be continued so that a united, federated, non-aligned Cyprus could emerge. He also urged the New Delhi meeting not only to try to bring the two communities together but to establish contact with the Turkish community as well with a view to creating a climate of friendship and reconciliation between the two communities. The Bangladesh President also cautioned that mere condemnation and the adoption of a strong resolution would further aggravate the problem and mitigate against the efforts of the two communities of Cyprus themselves to find a negotiated solution to the problem.

76. In his latest report the Secretary-General has indicated the steps that he undertook in pursuance of the Security Council resolutions that renewed his mission of good offices. It contains his five-point scenario providing a necessary framework for the resumption of high-level intercommunal talks. The report also contains, in annex IV, the four-point proposal made by Mr. Denktaş in his letter to the Secretary-General of 18 April 1984. The members of the Council are no doubt aware that the five-point scenario and the four-point proposal are compatible. In his statement the Turkish Cypriot leader also made it clear that his community continues to adhere to the concept of a united Cyprus within a bi-communal, bi-zonal and federal framework as provided for by the 1977 and 1979 high-level agreements and the 1980 opening statement of the Secretary-General [*S/14100, annex*]. Such positive signs reinforce our firm belief that it is not too late to retrieve the situation in Cyprus and that it is still possible to develop the spirit of conciliation and coexistence among the two communities.

77. It would be quite easy for the Council to pronounce its verdict on the immediate developments, but would that serve the cause of conciliation in Cyprus, which we all cherish? The tragic developments of the last 20 years have demonstrated again and again that the establishment of a bi-communal, bi-zonal and federal Cyprus is the only solution to the problem. While it is still a viable proposition, a beginning has to be made towards that end through the resumption of the intercommunal talks. The Secretary-General, while expressing his disappointments at the evolving situation in Cyprus, has also assured the Council that he is prepared to carry on his mission of good offices as long as there is unambiguous support for it.

78. In the light of the foregoing it is quite clear that a sound basis exists for the continuation of the Secretary-General's good offices. Such a sound basis should not be impaired through the adoption of another one-sided resolution, which would result in the irretrievable loss of the co-operation of one of the communities—co-operation which is so essential to the success of such an effort. The Council should therefore make every effort to revitalize our common search for a peaceful settlement by providing the necessary political support for the good offices of the Secretary-General, which would in turn facilitate his task by encouraging a dialogue and negotiations. Every effort should therefore be made to adopt a resolution which is acceptable to both sides. Instead of blaming one party or the other, we should urge both communities to engage in meaningful discussions and apply themselves seriously to the task of reaching a mutually acceptable agreement. The past tragic events have shown us that the protracted deadlock in the intercommunal talks caused by the imposition of conditions by one community on the other has only exacerbated the situation and further compounded the problem. The right of the Turkish community to equal status and partnership was clearly recognized in the 1960 Constitution, and these rights cannot now be qualified or diminished.

79. In conclusion, in his report the Secretary-General has left it to the Council to assess the present situation and to decide what action needs to be taken to revitalize the search for a peaceful settlement and to provide his mission of good offices with the necessary political support. The Bangladesh delegation would like to reiterate that this is indeed a historic opportunity for the Council to set in motion a process of meaningful negotiations, a process attentive to the painful history of the past 20 years. We must all act together to channel the course of events in Cyprus in the right direction. If we fail at this moment, posterity will not forgive us for our lack of vision.

The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.

NOTE

[1] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings*, vol. I, 18th meeting, para. 252.